F A *648 *175 439 441

system brought bitter experiences to the Ezo but it operated to develop the industry of Ezo and it played an important role in the development of Hokkaidō. These contractors were business men taking great risks for profit; using crude vessels; without an adequate knowledge of navigation and dealing with a foreign people. They were speculators and it was but natural for them to try for as much gain as possible on each trip. Since their contracts were signed by those who had power at the time they were obliged to pay not only *Unjōkin*, but also *Goyōkin* and *Kariagekin* [forced loans]. There was also the danger of the contract being unilaterally cancelled by official act and in such an event even though the contractor might win a suit in court he could not gain financial compensation from a government in constant financial difficulties. He stood to lose not only his invested capital but his entire fortune as happened in the cases of Hidaya Kyuhei and Abuya Denbei.[55] Therefore, these possibilities had to be taken into account in the Ezo trade.

A *648 *175 [519] 439 431

The contract system became less important in later years but the chief objective was still profit in trade. Unfair trade provoked the Ezo and led eventually to the 1669 revolt. But there is no evidence that after the suppression of the revolt the system was remedied—indeed it seemed to grow worse. Trade was on a barter basis and "when the Ezo came to the post to trade they would, for example, for 100 sea cucumbers receive 3 cups of sake if they wished *Aburashake* [*Seishu*—refined sake]. One cup was equal to 2 gō 5 shaku. The price for tobacco was 100 dried sea slugs. When they asked for *Yayakan* [earrings] they were given a set of earrings."

A [301] F *648 *175 436 439

In the early trade there was no stable exchange rate. The *Tsugaru Kibun* notes: "Boats sailing to Ezo would return, at times, with ten times worth as much goods as they had taken over but on other occasions would return with not enough goods to cover what they had taken. The Ezo are no more intelligent than our children and the rate of exchange has never been stable." But as the volume and rate of trade increased a sort of customary exchange arose. The exchange rates at Sōya during 1792 are as follows:[56]

For 1 sack of rice containing 8 shō:
- 6 bundles of herring i.e. 200 herring equal 1 bundle.
- 500 sea cucumbers
- 5 bundles of salmon i.e. 20 salmon equal 1 bundle.
- 15–16 bundles of trout i.e. as above with slight annual variations.
- 6 bundles of dried cod i.e. 20 cod equal 1 bundle.
- 3 barrels of dried herring roe i.e. 1 bbl. equal 2 shō.
- *shirako* [a small whitefish] 3 bbls. as above.
- *Sasame* [dried herring gills used as fertilizer] 6 bbls. as above.

[55] Details of the decline of Hidaya are given in *Hokkaidō Shi* 1 (3): chap. 34. Those on the downfall of Denbei are in chap. 44.

[56] *Igen Zokuwa.*

takes and there are many possibilities for misunderstanding when interpreters have to be constantly used. Therefore, it is urged that the Ezo learn Japanese. In that way both parties will be able to understand what the other party is saying.

3. The reasons why the Bakufu has taken control are that the Ezo have a poor standard of living and know little of industry, so that if the fishing is bad they suffer extreme hardship. The Bakufu has great sympathy for this condition and desires to show the natives new methods of work, introduce the customs of Japan, and gradually try to change the customs and manners of the Ezo. Since the prohibition on the use of Japanese has been abolished, all persons including *Otona* and all males should be encouraged to learn and make use of this language. Officials may at times give instructions without the aid of interpreters and the Ezo should be able to respond in Japanese. This is for their own good since it will eliminate the need for interpreters. Furthermore, there are many cases of foreign vessels drifting ashore and at these times the Ezo may be called upon to render help and it would be a great handicap if each Ezo had to be individually told what to do through interpreters. In addition there is only one interpreter and not more than four or five persons among the managers and guards who understand the Ezo language for each 800 Ezo.

And again, while this area is under the Bakufu there will be many officials going and coming and it will be most inconvenient to assign each one an interpreter. So the best thing to do is to have the Ezo learn Japanese. However, learning Japanese does not mean that each one must instantly adopt Japanese clothes or cut his hair and beard as we do. The Ezo are perfectly free to dress as they have always done. It is up to the Ezo themselves whether they wish to copy the customs of the Japanese. If there is such a one and he has learned the Japanese language he shall be granted permission to become a Japanese.

4. Children, both boys and girls, who have not yet been tattooed or made to wear earrings, are to refrain from such practices during Bakufu administration. There is no law against these practices, however; the Bakufu is just against the idea of inflicting injury on the body of any person. The reason is that those convicted of crime are tattooed according to the seriousness of their act. The second time they are convicted they are punished and the third time they are beheaded. Therefore, injuring the bodies of the innocent is not favored. As for the ban on earrings—the Japanese believe that people with large ear lobes without any marks or scars on them are happy and prosperous. We would like to see both of these practices stopped. If there are people who want to carry on their traditions let them be advised to wait until the *Basho* is handed back to the Matsumae. If those boys and girls who are to receive earrings and tattooes are restricted to those under two or three years of age, they would still be young enough even if they had to wait seven or eight years. Perhaps it will only be four or five years until the *Basho* is handed back to the Matsumae.

It is said that the Ezo have a custom called *Tsuchiuchi* in which people are sometimes beaten to death. But the death penalty may be carried out only after legal action has been taken by the authorities. Any person beating another to death by *Tsuchiuchi* shall not only be accused and tried by Japanese authority, but no matter what his excuses he will be punished and even may be put to death. *Tsuchiuchi* is strictly forbidden under Bakufu administration. On the other hand, it is said that this *Tsuchiuchi* has been used as atonement in disputes by those who have no property to offer. Atonement and *Tsuchiuchi* have been the unwritten law. Therefore, if *Tsuchiuchi* is pro-

1:Takakura. H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

distasteful to the Ezo. For example, in 1801, the problem arose of whether or not to execute the death sentence on the *Otona* Tashanishi of Kushiro who had killed one of his own men. Japanese officials inquired of neighboring chiefs as to whether or not the penalty should be enforced. The opinion of the chiefs was in favor of Tashanishi with the added proviso that if he were executed they would rebel.[51] The magistrate's report listed the actual culprit as Rikinkaru son of Tashanishi who while drunk struck the victim with a deer horn which injury led to the man's death. The offender apologized and requested a reconciliation by offering compensation. This occurred in August, 1799, only a few months after the promulgation of the new laws. The case was settled by Bakufu agents in form of a warning to the offender and an explanation that the new laws had not been in force long enough to be understood. The compensation was rejected as being against Bakufu policy.[52] This incident leads to the conclusion that the enactment of law was a difficult problem.[53]

7. THE ALTERATION OF CUSTOMS

The Bakufu policy was first to appease and then to guide and finally to assimilate. But while guidance of the mind is an ideal policy, obtaining quick results from such a policy is another question. However, native guidance being an urgent matter, Bakufu officials strove to alter native customs and to Japanize the daily pattern of life. Those who desired to change customs were permitted to shave their heads and adopt Japanese hair styles and were given Japanese clothes. Japanese style homes were given to industrious persons and their names were changed to sound as though they were Japanese. The Bakufu abolished the old Matsumae prohibitions against the use of hats in rainy weather, straw rain coats and straw sandals, while on the other hand, the use of earrings and tattooing was prohibited. In this way it was hoped to alter the appearance of the natives so that as much as possible their mode of living would look Japanese. It should be added that agriculture was encouraged in an attempt to make the Ezo live on cereals instead of meat[54] while the traditions of *Mekkakiri*[55] and the bear festival were prohibited.[56]

[51] Mogami Tokunai, Akkeshi Ran moshiage (Report on the rebellion at Akkeshi).

[52] Higashi Ezo Kusuri Basho Otona Tashanishi ikken no gi ni tsuki otazune no omomuki sani kotae moshiage sōrō (Reply to your request for information concerning the incident of Tashanishi the *Otona* of Kusuri Basho in East Ezo), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 6, *SHS* 5: 786–787.

[53] Takakura Shinichirō, Waga kuni saisho no shokuminchi hosei (The first colonial laws of this country), *Hōritsu Shunjū* 5 (4).

[54] Ezochi Goyoshuii shikaimuki mōshiwatasari sōrō.

[55] According to *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 475, *Mekkakiri* was a ceremony in which "the relatives of the deceased gathered to weep and to beat with sticks or the blunt side of a sword in an attempt to forget their grief." It is also called *Mekkauchi*. *Mekka* means "the back of a thing" and *Uchi* or *Kiri* probably

A F *648 1177 *175

On every possible occasion the Bakufu persuaded the natives to follow the Japanese way. The importation of earrings was banned [57] while every encouragement was given to the importation of Japanese commodities. The government awarded Japanese clothing to those who did adopt Japanese customs. The Bakufu policy was to select a model native, from the Japanese point of view, and reward him lavishly so that others might desire to follow his example. The magistrates also made a practice of taking ten or more Ezo to Edo when the rotation period for officials came so that the natives might see for themselves the customs in Edo as a model way of life. This policy was discontinued because of opposition from officials in Edo.[58] The island of

A [484]

A [765] [114]

meant "to strike or to cut." Although there are as yet no research findings which completely clarify the meaning of this word, the article on *Shuto* in *Ezo Sangyō Zusetsu* (written by Murakami Shimanojo and supplemented by Mamiya Rinsō) gives the impression that it was a gesture of purification akin to *Ukaru* (see Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu Keibatsu [Ainu penalties] in *Hōritsu Shunjū*, 6 (3). In my opinion, those cases in which clubs were used during *Ukaru* came to be called *Shutouchi* or *Tsuchiuchi* and cases where the back of a sword were used were called *Mekkauchi*. In olden days the usage of these two terms was confused and *Shutouchi* was called *Mekkauchi* or *Mikkauchi*. To the Japanese it seemed a most barbarous ceremony. It was described as: "Persons who visit the relatives of the deceased to offer their condolences would draw their swords and with the blunt edge would strike once the forehead of the relatives which caused blood to flow. The visitors who had struck the relatives once would then in the same manner be themselves struck three times which would cause their heads to bleed. This was called *Mekkauchi*." (*Ezo Shima Kiroku* [Records of Ezo Island] found in *Gunsho Ruiju* 2.) Furthermore, although it seems that only *Mekkauchi* was prohibited, it is probable that the practice of *Ukaru*, also often used as a punishment, was also banned. Together with dances, *Ukaru* was shown to entertain the Inspectors and in *Ezo Shima Kikan* it states that, "with one stroke it sometimes happened that a person would fall dead or be seriously injured." The reason, we may presume, that this practice was prohibited is that from this period onward nothing can be found which mentions *Shutouchi* which had once been one of the famous attractions of Ezo. *Mekkauchi* remains today only in the form of *Rorunbeapukashi* in which a discussion is held with *Sara Kamui* (the god of disaster).

A [796] [224]

[58] The bear ceremony was indispensable to the Ainu who were a hunting people. They prayed during the ceremony for abundant game. (Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Kuma matsuri no hanashi [Story of the bear festival], *Minzokugaku* 1 (2).) However, Bakufu officials by merely considering the superficial aspects of this ceremony in which a bear is tortured to death, proclaimed it to be cruel and prohibited it. Since it was impossible for the Ezo to hunt while this ceremony was banned, the result was that the prohibition had little effect.

A [301]

[57] "Articles such as earrings which are against the customs of the mainland shall be excluded from the list of trade goods and the Ezo shall be induced to follow the practices of the Japanese. The same is true of other tools and implements." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 552.

A [484] [52]

[58] "When we return to Edo this winter, we wish to have accompany us about ten or more Ezo men and women who wish to do so in order that they may see for themselves the prosperity of Edo. These people would then relate their experiences to other natives which would, in our opinion, be of help in altering their customs. The reason for including

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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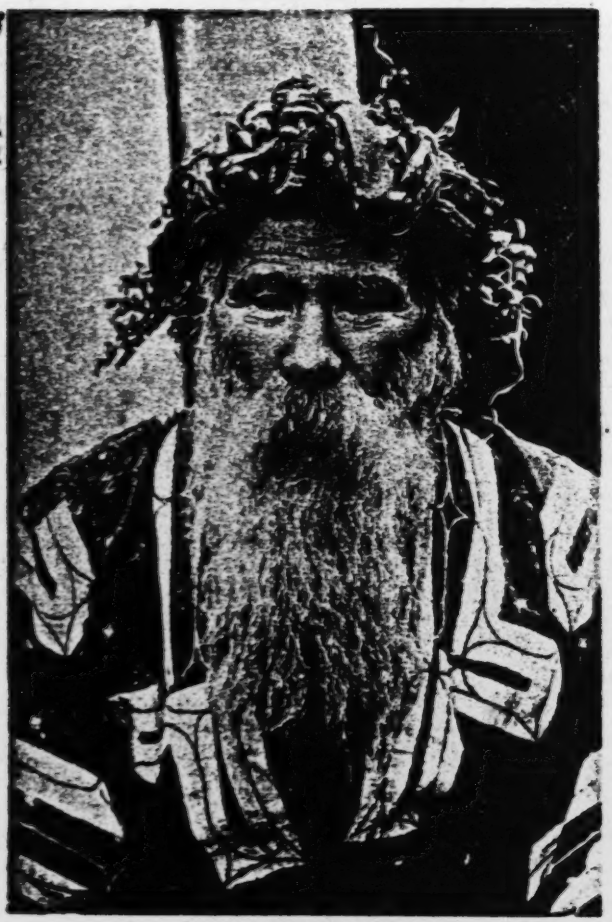

AN OLD AINU FRIEND

[P. 6]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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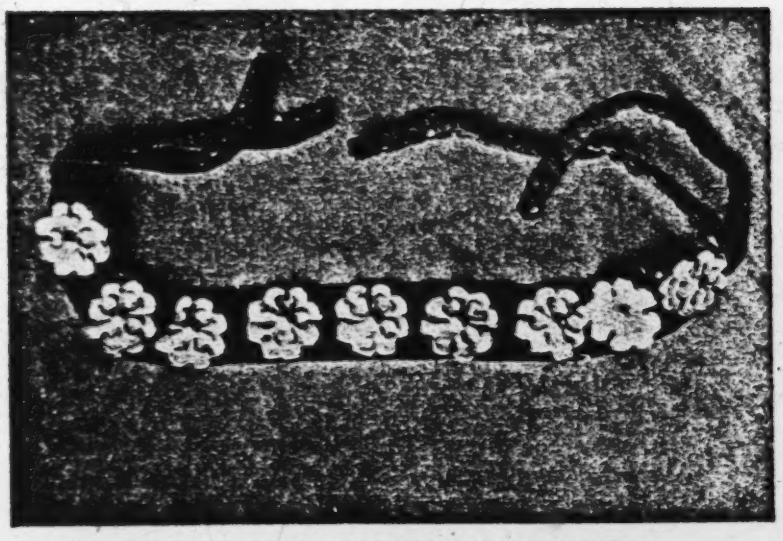

A GIRL'S NECKLACE MADE OF MELTED LEAD

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A MAN'S COAT

A WOMAN'S COAT

[P. 54 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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DRESSED IN HER BEST

[p. 134-(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 "'At daybreak my husband and his younger brother arose and had breakfast, and then went off to catch trout. As they were about to start my younger sister said to them, "Do not go away, but stay at home for this one day. Do not leave the house. Yesterday your wife went to gather tubers, and when she returned I saw her face and remarked that her countenance was quite changed. So please stay in to-day." Although my younger sister urged this, yet the men would not hearken, but started off fishing."

The story continues in the words of the younger sister, "'I remained at home with my elder sister. I saw her fill a birchbark vessel full to the brim, heaped well up with some of the special food she had made. She then dressed herself in her new and very best garments. She then put her ear-rings into her ear-holes and fastened on her belt ornamented with brass rings. Having done all this, she went out of the house carrying with her the bark vessel filled with food. As she passed out she said to me, "Come into the back-yard with me," and added, "When I went yesterday to get tubers I met a man. He asked me to marry him and I consented to do so. So he and I have become husband and wife. Watch and see whither I go into the forest." So I went out with her.

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"'On looking round, I saw a young man with a black beard standing behind the fetishes. He beckoned to my sister and she went to him. Upon reaching him, she gave him the vessel of food which he soon ate all up. When he had finished it, he gave his wife a slap with his hand, upon which she immediately changed into a she-bear; he then likewise slapped himself and forthwith became a he-bear. He then gave his wife another slap and she followed him off into the forest. They went following one another. Having seen all this, I returned to the house and waited for the men-folk to come home.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXIX

THE VINES OF HEAVEN, AND SYMPATHETIC MAGIC

One day, as I was travelling alone through a forest of fine big elm trees, I happened to meet an old man who had large rings which had been made by bending green grape or actinidia vines into a circle. These he had thrust through the lobes of his ears. I thought this very curious, and straightway asked the old fellow to come to sit with me on the trunk of a fallen tree, so that we could converse together, for I sadly wanted to know about those ear-rings. In this chapter I desire to give our conversation on the subject as nearly as possible in the common idiom of his own native Ainu.

Said I, "I see, my elder brother, that you have pieces of vine made into rings and thrust through the lobes of both your ears. I am wondering why you have done this. I have seen many of your people wearing red cloth, elm bark thread and metal rings before, but this is the first time I have ever met any one wearing vines. Why is it? Would you mind telling me?"

Old Man. "Ah, my younger brother, as you see, I am growing old now. My bones have become stiff. In no way am I as lissom as I used to be and would like to be. And I am full of aches and pains at all times."

Self. "Just so, brother. All must come to that as time passes, if we live long enough. But what have those vine ear-rings to do with it? How can they help you?"

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

888 *Old Man.* "Yes, indeed! That is just the point.
301 Vines are divine beings. They are living gods. They
778 are full of life and flexibility. Whether it be winter or
824 summer, they are always lithe and pliable. This is the reason I wear parts of these deities in my ears. They are my preservers and helpers."

Self. "Indeed! How can this be? Where is the virtue? What kind of good can they do you? Do you think they have done or are doing you any good now? Do you feel any better for them?"

Old Man. "Oh, don't you know? Of course they help me. How can I doubt it? They are gods. They keep me going. By wearing them I get my portion of flexibility and am thus as lithe as you see me now. Having them in my ears, I feel and know that these divine properties are being imparted to me through them."

Poor old fellow! Sitting there in the silent forest on that log, listening to the recitation of his faith, I felt hushed. Such was his creed on this point, and he was acting upon it.

"But," returned I, "whatever makes you, my elder brother, think those vines are divine? I should like to learn from you. Please teach me." I then got the following old lore from him, and was edified:

539 "In the beginning grape and actinidia vines were in Heaven, in the Kingdom of the Gods. In that place only golden, silver and bronze trees grow. Now, when the Divine One came down from above to Ainu-land, he found that God had made many things to grow out of the earth, but he had quite forgotten to plant any actinidia and grape vines. So the Divine One returned to Heaven and brought down one silver and one golden actinidia, and also one bronze grape vine. The grape was taken from a vine clinging to a bronze tree and the silver actinidia from a vine twisted round a tree of silver. And thus it is that there are now

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

brass rings, her ear-rings, beads, and necklace, her harp, a weaving loom, some thread, a cooking pot, two wooden spoons, two bowls and eating cups, a water ladle, a small knife, a few dumplings to eat on the way, a few dried fish, and a little millet. These she tied up in a neat bundle and rolled in a mat. Nor did she forget to fix all up securely, ready for a sudden departure, in a carrying-sling, the headpiece of which she had made soft and beautifully ornamented. When all was prepared, she hid it away very carefully among some bushes by a little stream, and then returned home to await the moment arranged for the elopement.

Kutri brought a long and short knife, an axe, his fine yew bow, elegantly decorated with thin slithers of cherry bark, a quiver well filled with arrows, a good supply of aconite poison, some stout string, a few strong sandals made of deer and fish skins, a cup and moustache-lifter, a bear-skin bag containing tinder and a fire drill, a fox skull for divination and a tray or two upon which to place skull fetishes and offerings to the deities. He also carried some bear's galls as medicine. Ever thinking of his dearly beloved Yai-mah, he took one thing he believed she might possibly forget, and which as it happened she surely did overlook, namely, a pair of scissors. Later, when they unpacked their bundles in their new home and he produced the scissors, her pleasure was unbounded. Her face lit up with true love and her eyes flashed with joy. Her beautiful moon-like face beamed with smiles. She, too, had thought that Kutri might possibly forget something, and, so, not to be outdone, she produced from her work-bag a fine deer decoy and handed it to him. Great was his pleasure and loud his laughter when he saw it, for he found that he had quite forgotten to bring one! The rafters of their little hut rang again and again with the ripple of Yai-mah's lovely voice, and the musical roar of Kutri's melodious accompani-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

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AINO GIRL, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (F)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126 [145]

Carrying bag.—Similar to 150676, but larger, made of the rush *Scirpus*, with brown parts of dyed bark, the ends of ohiyo cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150684

Wooden dish.—Octagonal in shape, about 12 inches wide by 2½ inches deep inside, cut out of a single block of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150685

Wooden bowl.—Circular, excavated from a block of wood, about 10 inches in diameter by 3 inches deep. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150686

Cloth mitts.—Mittens made of Japanese cotton cloth. They cover the wrist and back of the hands only. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150688 [291]

Ceremonial head dress.—A band of dyed bark, braided, about 2 inches wide, to put on the head. Around the outside a band of white, curled shavings pass, with the free ends behind. In front a rude wooden figure, perhaps representing the head of a bear. Squares of purple cloth hang down all around the lower edge. Used by the men when dancing. (See Fig. 87.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150687 [292]

Apron.—Made of ohiyo cloth and Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with light-blue cotton yarn. Worn by the women. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150689

Inao.—A whittled stick made of willow wood with long, curled shavings hanging down from near the upper end. The lower end sharpened to stick in the ashes of the fire-place or in the ground. Rather more than half way up a few shavings curling upwards on one side. Length, 30 inches. Inao represents the gods, to which prayers are offered. They are found in every house in the corner sacred to the house god, and in the fire-place where the fire god is worshipped. (See Fig. 86.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150690 [779]

Inao.—A whittled willow stick with pendant shavings, like 150690, but smaller, and stick plain below with short, curled shavings at the top. Length, 17 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150691

Inao.—A willow stick with pendant shavings, similar to 150690 and 150691, and used for the same purposes. Length, 30 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150692

Broiling sticks.—Stuck in the ashes of the fire-place with fish spitted upon them for broiling. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150693 [252]

Tobacco box and stick.—The box has a lid held in place by the cord which passes through holes down both sides and across the bottom, ending above in a knot at the back of the stick. The stick is thrust in the girdle when traveling. Box and stick carved in native designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150694 [276]

Moustache sticks.—Carved flat sticks of wood, plain or lacquered, used to raise the moustache when drinking saké, and for throwing drops of saké as libations to the gods. The lacquered sticks are undoubtedly old. They are covered with Ainu designs, but the lacquering is probably Japanese work. Length, about 13 inches. (See Fig. 77.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150695–150699 [413]

Parts of an Ainu loom.—The essential parts of a loom used for weaving ohiyo-bark cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150700

Shell for lamp.—A shell of the *Pecten* used to hold oil and a small wick, to serve as a lamp. The shell is supported on the end of a three-forked stick set up in the fire-place. The wick is the pith of a plant, sometimes a bit of twisted bark fiber. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150701 [354]

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694, but much larger. Probably quite an old box. Wires for cleaning the pipe attached to the cord. (See Fig. 79). Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150702 [276]

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150703

Red lacquer cup.—Used for saké. Made by the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150704

Large knife and case.—The knife was obtained from the Japanese. The wooden case is of native workmanship, made in two pieces, bound together with bark, the outside elaborately carved. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150705 [411 415]

Bead necklace and copper ornament.—Worn by women. The beads are of glass, blue and white, strung on a cord. The thin copper plate bears a stamped or hammered figure of a person seated on some mythic animal, with leaves of palms [301]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

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301 about. The beads are of Japanese manufacture, the plate of unknown origin. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150706

The women are unwilling to part with their beads, which they seem to value either as heirlooms or as sacred treasures. Six dollars was once refused for a string smaller than this, although the people are extremely poor. All such ornaments have been obtained by trade with the Japanese, and many of them seem to be quite old. (A similar necklace shown in Pl. XC.)

Earrings.—Made of silver, with blue glass beads. Worn by the women. Specimens are of medium size, 3½ inches in diameter, of Japanese manufacture. (Similar earrings shown in Plates XCIII and CIV.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150707

Earrings.—Made of white metal. Worn by women; 2½ inches in diameter. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150708

126 *Wooden plate.*—A round plate with carved pattern inside. Diameter, 7 inches. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150708

Wooden plate.—A round plate with carved pattern inside. Diameter, 7 inches. (See Fig 74.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150709

Wooden plate.—A square plate with rounded corners; inside carved; 12 inches square. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150710

Wooden plates.—Two square plates, with insides carved. Respectively 9½ and 8 inches square. (See Fig. 74.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150711

Winders for thread.—Flat pieces of carved wood of various shapes, used for winding thread. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150712

Teacup holders.—Patterned after similar articles used by the Japanese. Made of wood, carved. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150713

[301] *Cloth neck band and ornament.*—A simple band of blue-black Japanese cotton three-quarters of an inch wide, with button and button-hole to secure it around the neck. In front a nearly square flap hangs down about 1½ inches, on which a small silver ornament is displayed. Worn mostly by children. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150714

Tattooing knives.—Ordinary Japanese knives with blades 3 to 3½ inches in length in plain wooden handles. One of the blades bent near the end. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150715

[304] *Kaba bark.*—Birch bark used to make the soot used in tattooing. The bark is burned and the soot condensed on a dish held over the flame. The soot is rubbed into the cuts on the face and arms, giving them a permanent somewhat bluish color. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150716

Wooden dish.—Oblong, with rounded ends. Length, 6 inches; width, 3½ inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150717

Chopsticks.—Made by the Ainos, who doubtless learned to use them from the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150718

[412] *Needle.*—Used for making fish nets. Made of wood (See Fig. 85.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150719

[534] *Mokuri.*—A musical instrument played like a jew's-harp, except that the reed is made to vibrate by jerking the string with the right hand while the instrument is held in front of the mouth, not against the teeth, between the thumb and finger of the left hand, the cord pressing around the little finger. (See Fig. 80.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150720

Bark dishes.—Made of birch bark, the edges bound with bark fiber over strips of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150721

[415] *Wooden spoons.*—Various shapes and sizes, with long handles often curiously shaped to represent small branches sharply bent at the joints. Used for cooking and for eating. (See Fig. 75.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150722

Wooden flat spoons.—Shaped like small spatulas; upper surfaces carved. Used for eating. Length, about 7 inches. (See Fig. 75.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150724

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

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Fish skins.—Two pieces, used for making shoes. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150725

Wooden spoons.—Shaped like spatulas, carved on the upper surface. Like 150723, but smaller. Used by women. Length, 6 inches. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150726

Large wooden spatula.—Used as a spoon or ladle to dish out food. Length, 17 inches; width of blade, 3 inches. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150727

Wooden pipe.—A short pipe with stem carved. Length, 9 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 78.) 150728

Knife and case.—The blade of Japanese manufacture. The carved case made by the Ainos. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150729

Two knife cases.—Well carved in peculiar designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 76.) 150731

Wooden mallet.—Formed of a branch and a portion of the main stem, which together make a naturally shaped hammer. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150732 [4 2]

Wooden pipes.—Usual form. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 78) 150733, 150734

Bead necklace.—Made of colored glass beads and five larger hollow metal beads in the middle. Made by Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150736 [30]

Small loom.—Used for weaving the narrow belts of ohiyo bark. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150737

Bark for mats.—Elm bark, ohiyo, colored brown and black for weaving the square patterns of mats, bags, etc. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150738

Shikeribikina.—Leaves of a plant dried and preserved for food. Botanical name unknown. Used in stews. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150739

Salmon roe.—Dried fish roe, as preserved for winter food. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150740 126

Dried cakes of lily root.—Two cakes about 9½ inches in diameter by ¾ of an inch thick with a hole through the middle, tied together with strips of bark. The lily is probably the *uba-guri* of the Japanese. Such cakes of various sizes are to be seen hanging in every house throughout Yezo, becoming thoroughly dried and seasoned by the smoke and hardened. (See also 150769.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150741 251 262

Cakes of lily root.—Similar to 150741, but smaller. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150742

String of lily root.—Dried bulbs of the lily on strings. A very common article of food to be seen suspended in the houses throughout Yezo. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150744

Nuts.—The fruits of *Trapa bicornis*. Used for food. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150743

String of fruits.—Not identified, bulbels of inflorescence from some monocotyledonous plant. Used for food. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150746

Flour.—Prepared from some starch-bearing root. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150745

Dried herrings.—The fish are roughly cleaned and suspended from the beams of the houses until dried and smoked. Used for winter food. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150748

Slices of pumpkin, dried.—Not a common food among the Ainos. The pumpkin is now cultivated in the valley of Saru. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150749

Pukusa.—A kind of food; apparently the stalks of a plant, cut in small pieces. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150751

Pukusakina.—The leaves and stems of a plant belonging to the Ranunculaceæ. Used for food. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150752

Beans.—Not common in Yezo. Varieties grown in the Saru Valley. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150753

Strips of bark.—Used for making the colored parts of mats. Probably from the *Tilia cordata*. (See No. 150632.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150754 126

Stalks of the rush.—Stalks of *Scirpus maritimus*; used for weaving mats. (See No. 150632.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150756

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

could make out my surroundings clearly enough. There was an old man, perfectly naked, with a fine head, long white hair and beard, sitting on the ground among a mass of sea-weeds, which he was disentangling and packing. Two young women and two young men, with bright, intelligent eyes and high cheek-bones, were helping him in his work. In their quiet, gentle way they all brought their hands forward, each rubbed the palms together, and, lifting the arms, slowly stroked their hair, and the men their beard with the backs of their hands, while the women rubbed the first finger under the nose from the left to the right. This is their salutation, and it is most graceful. They seemed pleased to see me, and asked me to sit down. As there were neither chairs nor sofas, stools nor cushions, I squatted on the ground.

AINU WOMAN SALUTING.

Most Ainu of Volcano Bay understand Japanese, and they also speak it, interpolating Ainu words when necessary, so I began a conversation. My presence did not seem to disturb them or arouse their curiosity, and, beyond gazing at the mother-of-pearl buttons on my white coat, they did not appear to be struck by me. Evidently the buttons were much more interesting to them than the person who wore them. Now and then they uttered a few words, but whenever one spoke some of the company seemed to be angry, as at an impertinence or a breach of etiquette. Men and women wore large ear-rings or pieces of red or black cloth, which added a great deal to their picturesqueness; but the women were disfigured by a long moustache tattooed across the face from ear to ear. Rough drawings adorn the arms and hands of the women, and some of the younger females would undoubtedly be fine-looking if not disfigured by the tattoos, for they carry themselves well when walking, and possess comely features. Judging from appearances, I should think them very passionate.

Coming out of the hut I saw a scene which I shall never forget. Two naked boys, covered with horrible skin eruptions, had got hold of a large fish-bone, out of which they

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

were endeavouring to make a meal. Round them were gathered about thirty dogs, wild with hunger, barking furiously at the frightened children, and attacking and fighting them for that miserable repast.

I walked along the beach, and endeavoured to make friends with some of the Ainu who were less shy than the others. One little girl was especially picturesque. She was only about ten, and her large eyes, tanned complexion, white teeth, the tiny bluish-black tattoo on her upper lip, her uncombed long black hair flying around her, and her red cloth ear-rings, made her indeed one of the quaintest studies of colour that I have seen in my life. I got her to sit for me; and while I was painting her, an old man, the chief of the village, dressed up in a gaudy costume, with a crown of willow shavings on his head, came to me and made his "salaams." He bore the name of Angotsuro, and before all his salaams were over he found himself "caught in the action" in my sketch-book. Many of the villagers had collected round, and one of them, a half-caste, expressed the wish that I should paint the chief in colours, like the picture of the girl. I asked for nothing better, and started an oil-sketch of him. The excitement of the natives who were witnessing the operation grew greater and greater as each new ornament in the chief's dress was put in the picture. Some seemed to approve of it, others were grumpy, and apparently objected to the picture being taken at all. The *séance* was indeed a stormy one; and though the chief had his regal crown knocked off his head two or three times by the anti-artistic party, he sat well for his likeness, especially as I promised him in Japanese, that when the picture was completed he should be given a few coins and two buttons off my coat.

It was while portraying him that I noticed what extraordinary effects colours produce on those whose eyes are unaccustomed to them. A man in the crowd would get excited, and open his eyes wide and show his teeth every time I happened to touch with my brush the cobalt blue on my palette. Other colours had not the same effect on him. His eyes were continually fixed on the blue, anxiously waiting for the brush to dip in it, and this would then send him into fits of merriment. I squeezed some blue paint from a tube on

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

to Benry, and asked him to sit to me for his portrait. At first he was very reluctant, but the prospect of receiving a present finally overcame his scruples—for he was indeed civilised in

BENRY, THE AINU CHIEF OF PIRATORI.

this respect, and understood the worth of his version of the almighty dollar to perfection—and, consenting to be sketched, he sat—at the outset with as much courage as docility. He produced a crown of shavings and seaweed, which he solemnly

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Unfortunately, the Ainu of this region[1] are not very numerous, and constant intermarriage among near relations has proved detrimental to the race. However, a glance at them is quite sufficient to show the difference between them and Ainu of other tribes. They are not so picturesquely arrayed as their more western brothers, and the large Japanese brass and silver earrings, as well as the glass bead necklaces which make such a brave show yonder, are replaced here by

AINU WOMAN OF FRISHIKORETS, ON THE TOKACHI RIVER.

rough bone or wooden ornaments. Men and women in summer are almost entirely naked, and all children are clad in their own bare skins only. Their winter garments are made of bear and deer skins. Some peculiar snow-sandals, made of the bark of a kind of ash-tree called *shina*, are sometimes worn over the winter salmon-skin boots or moccasins. The Ainu make their ropes out of the bark of this *shina*, though often young vine stems are used for the same purpose. River fishing-nets are generally made of young vines twisted. They are of the roughest description, and are only fit for

[1] [i.e., the Tokachi River region --Analyst]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

yellow, or brightly-coloured handkerchief, of Russian manufacture, is tied round the neck and another round the back of the head, and this makes the women look like Italian peasants. As the gown is worn usually loose it has the identical shape of a dressing-gown; it is ornamented with yellow feathers of puffins round the neck and the edge. Both men and women wear either moccasins, or long boots made of sealskin, with the fur inside, or else they wear salmon-skin boots, like the Ainu of Yezo. No woman that I saw at Shikotan had a moustache tattooed round her lips, or any tattoo marks on her arms. Very few of them wore earrings, though all had the ears bored for that purpose, and had worn them. The earrings which they possessed were mostly strings of coral beads and metal ornaments of Russian manufacture, which, like the brightly-coloured handkerchiefs, they had received in bartering with the crew of a sealing schooner. Since they have been at Shikotan the men have been presented with old caps and overcoats, similar to those of the Japanese police. Previous to this, however, when the Kuriles were under the rigid Russian *régime*, the Kurilsky Ainu men were compelled to trim their hair and beard, which was the first step taken by the priests of the Coptic Church in Christianising these nomadic barbarians. When this hair-dressing order was complied with, as the first link of the chain, the Coptic creed was enforced on them, and the barbarous Kurilsky Ainu became well-trimmed orthodox Christians.

At Shikotan, as it is, fishing on a small scale is their main occupation, praying the next, and Jacko, the chief of the village, is the high priest. Jacko's predecessor, in fulfilling the duties of this high post, was a man who had dropped his Ainu name, and had been baptized as Alexandrovitch. His house is now occupied by Jacko. It is the first on the right-hand side when the village is entered from the harbour side, and it is larger than any of the others; it is built of wood instead of rushes and reeds. The interior is divided into two rooms, and in the second are three stands, the middle one of which has a cross on it. On each of these stands is a Russian Bible, with images hanging on the page-marks. Several rough stools and a couple of benches are placed in rows in front of these stands, and on the walls hang two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Russian peasants. Some also wear skin gowns similar to those of the Kurilsky Ainu, ornamented with feathers and bits of molten lead sewn on them. A velvet cap or a kind of tiara is their head-gear, and this also is ornamented with gold and silver or red beads, or else is embroidered in bright colours.

The children are arrayed in more gaudy colours than their elders. They have bright red embroideries round their necks, and the whole gown is full of spangles and beads, the proceeds of parental barter. A peculiar paunch-suspender, which I saw here for the first time, was ingenious, and answered a great want in the Ainu country. As will be seen later, the majority of Ainu children have huge paunches, mostly due to the inability of the hairy people to tie and secure properly the umbilical cord at the child's birth. This not only produces great discomfort to the child, but often causes its death. The belt which I saw was made on the principle that the weight of the paunch, under which passed a kind of net made of strips of skin, was supported by braces going over the shoulders, and by this contrivance, if the original lesion did not get much better it did not get worse, as it does when not taken any care of at all. Neither men nor women wore earrings; but the fair sex wore a kind of velvet ribbon necklace round their neck, and on this ribbon were sewn ornaments of molten lead, silver, and other metals.

The habitations, storehouses, and customs of these Ainu are similar to those of the others. As I slowly rode along the banks of the river just before sunset, retracing my steps towards the Ishikari village, I saw a hidden trail, which apparently led to the woods. I made my pony follow it, and shortly afterwards I came to a graveyard. As I have said, the Ainu are extremely jealous of their burial-places, and they resent strangers, even Japanese, going near them. It was nearly fifteen days since the accident to my leg had occurred, and though I could neither walk nor stand on it, still I was beginning to be accustomed to the agony, and with great trouble and pain I could dismount from my tiny pony. Strange to say, mounting was not so difficult, for I could pull myself up with my arms, lie flat on my stomach on the saddle, and then swing round, and it did not jar me as much as coming down. I had my paint-box fastened to the saddle, and I unlashed

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

of picturesque waterfalls over the high cliffs down on to the beach. As the beach was narrow, this meant each time a cold shower-bath, which, however, did not much matter, for I was already drenched by the rain, and I had no very "swell" garments to spoil, as my readers know.

Shitzo is an old-looking place, but there is nothing attractive about it. It is in a small bay sheltered by Cape Benke, but

AINU HALF-CASTE CHILD OF VOLCANO BAY.

its anchorage is only fit for junks or very small skiffs. It is much exposed to northerly and easterly winds. The coast from Shitzo to the Cape is lined with rocky bluffs and cliffs of conglomerate and volcanic formation, with bare hills inland.

There are many reefs stretching out, both along the coast and off the Cape; but in many places channels are cut in them, to all appearance produced by some remote volcanic action.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

142 developed. The space from the nose to the mouth is extremely long, while the chin, which is rather round, is comparatively short and not very prominent. Thus the face has the shape of a short oval. The profile is concave and the mouth and eyebrows are prominent, though of course the nose projects more than the lips, yet without being too markedly projecting. The chin and forehead recede, as has been said, and in the supraorbital region the central boss is extremely well marked; also the brow ridges, which, however, are slightly less conspicuous than the central boss. The ears are usually large, flat, and simply-developed, with long lobes; but unfor-
[301] tunately, owing to the heavy weight of their enormous ear-
rings this part of their ears is generally much deformed.
[304] Sometimes I have seen children with a hole in their lobes large enough for me to pass my finger through; with others, where the skin was not so elastic, the lobes were torn right through and the two sides hung down. In older people one does not see this so much, as their long hair entirely covers their ears. The average length of a man's ear is two and three-quarter inches; of a woman's, two and a half inches.

144 People have classified the Ainu as Mongolians, notwithstanding that they possess no characteristics whatsoever of the Mongolian races.

144 The colour of their skin is light reddish-brown, and not
145 yellow and sallow, like that of Mongolians; they are very hairy, and the Mongolians are smooth-skinned; the features of the one race are diametrically opposed to those of the other; the mouth is strong and firm in the Ainu and weak in the Mongolian; and the Ainu eyes, the strongest characteristic of Mongolian races, do not slant upwards, nor are they long and almond-shaped, as with the Chinese or the Japanese, but with their long axes are in one horizontal plane, as in most Europeans. Indeed, the Ainu have a much greater resemblance to the northmen of Europe in their prehistoric stage than to any modern races, and least of all to the Mongolians.

142 But let us examine the eye more carefully. The iris is light brown, sometimes tending towards dark grey. One seldom sees black or very dark brown eyes save in half-breeds; and they are deeply set, as with Europeans. The

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

soon be destroyed by the sharp stones and ice—by slipping over them a pair of thick rope sandals, which protect the sides, the back, the toes, and sole of the foot. If to this inventory be added a head-gear consisting of a band wound round the head, and an occasional apron, the whole of the Ainu wardrobe is catalogued. This band, which is worn principally by women, is untied and removed when saluting or meeting a man, whether on the road or in the woods. A Japanese towel often takes the place of the native manufacture. I am inclined to think that this custom of covering the head has been acquired from the Japanese, as none of the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi—the only pure ones remaining—wore anything in the shape of band or kerchief, while it is extremely common with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and Piratori to wear these unbecoming towels. At Piratori the Ainu women give a more artistic character to this ugly headgear by embroidering it in front and wearing it like a tiara. An apron is occasionally worn by Ainu, but this too, in my opinion, has been borrowed from the Japanese. Ainu clothes often get undone, owing to their shape, and therefore Ainu men sometimes wear these aprons, but rather because they are made to wear them than from native modesty or inclination to be commonly decent. I have seen Ainu on the north-east coast of Yezo and on Lake Kutcharo wear coarse hats of matted rushes. When laid flat, these hats have a diameter of about thirty inches; but when worn, they are folded in two, and kept in this position by a string tied under the chin and passed through the hat. They are used principally in winter as a protection against the snow. The Ainu care more to adorn than to clothe themselves. A few glass beads, a metal earring, a silver coin, or anything that shines, can make a man or a woman as happy as a king. Intoxicants come first of all things, but after them there is nothing in this world that Ainu

1 2

BOOTS TO BE SOAKED IN WATER SO AS TO TAKE SHAPE OF FOOT, AND TO BE KEPT UP WITH A STRING.

DEER-SKIN SHOE.

THE TARNA OR HEAD-BAND.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6 2

cherish more than personal ornaments, and this is, of course, even truer of women than of men. What strikes a stranger when looking at an Ainu for the first time is, as I have already said, the size of their metal earrings and heavy glass necklaces. As the Ainu cannot work in metals or make glass, these ornaments have been purchased from Japanese, Chinese, and Corean adventurers, and many costly skins of bears, foxes, wolves, or seals are gaily bartered for a few beads, worth next to nothing. The Ainu is fond of metals, but he does not know the difference between one and the other. All that glitters is gold for him; and if it is not gold then it must be silver. Therefore some Ainu are known to have invested all their fortune of valuable furs for a pair of brass earrings, and, what is more, they have never grudged the bargain! Previous to the importation of these worthless articles their ornaments were made of wood, bone, and shells, of which "survivals" are still to be seen with the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi.

The large circular earrings are much prized: men and women alike wear them. Many men, however, do not wear these metal earrings, but prefer instead a long strip of red or black cloth, or skin.

The lobes of the ears are frequently torn down by wearing these heavy earrings from early childhood, and they know not how to mend them by sewing them. Another hole is sometimes bored in the upper and sound part.

Ainu women of civilised districts occasionally wear metal finger-rings, but these are of course of foreign make, and imported.

Ainu *menokos* (girls) seem to have no partiality for bracelets or amulets, but necklaces are the dream of their life. The delight of an Ainu woman in a new necklace is in proportion to the size and number of the beads. A woman who possesses one of extra large beads is envied by all her less fortunate neighbours; and she who has several strings is at once admired and hated by all the womankind of the village. For, indeed, Ainu women are "human" enough to know how to hate each other! The beads which most take their fancy are the blue, black, white, or metal ones. The larger beads in the necklace are in front; and the rough wooden

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

301 pendants with bits of bone, metal, or broken beads inlaid in it, which hang to the necklace, rest on the breast. Large Japanese sword-hilts are often used as pendants by the Volcano Bay natives.

[184] The Ainu of the Upper Tokachi region had none of these beads, but a rough wooden pendant was suspended round their neck by a leather string.

293 Girdles are worn by men and women for two purposes—first, to keep their clothes together; next, to support the large knives which the Ainu always carry with them.

The Ishikari Ainu who lived formerly in Sakhalin wear leather belts, and the women wear besides a peculiar cloth [531] headgear. Both these articles are ornamented with drops of melted lead and Chinese cash sewn on to the cloth.

291 These are all the articles of clothing and ornament which [554] are in common use among the Ainu. None of them are worn as symbols of rank, or to denote virginity. No Ainu can explain why he or she wears one thing more than another, except for the reason that he or she likes it. There are no Ainu laws as regards clothing, and with the exception of the "chief," who on special occasions dresses more gaudily, and [599] wears a crown made either of willow-tree shavings or dried sea-weed, with a small carved-wood bear head in front, they all dress pretty much alike. A chief could not be distinguished from a commoner by his everyday clothing.

302 Speaking of personal ornamentation, I may as well describe the way in which the hair is dressed, and also the tattoo-marks.

Little care is taken of the long hair, which reaches down to the shoulders. It is never washed, nor brushed, nor combed. At the back it is cut in a semicircle round the neck. Over the forehead the men shave a small part of the long hair, which, falling over their eyes, is uncomfortable to them; but women do not. Until lately this shaving was done with sharp shells, and wives shaved their husbands. The process was said to be rather painful, and the thoughtful women have now adopted knives for that purpose, to the great delight of the stronger sex. The part shaved is in the shape of a lozenge two and a half inches by two inches respectively from angle to angle. This open space causes the hair to part in two different

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 ABG Ainu ABG

778 532 sides of the arms, seven spiral cuts in the bark, along the stem, and a superposed head-piece in shavings with seven braided tresses on the crown. Compare Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3, which represents a simplified type of this inau for the fireside.

Inau-sticks are often mere miniatures of these large inau-trees, which cannot be used everywhere with equal ease, on account of their size and cumbersomeness.

778 Further, there are to be distinguished individual and group inau. The latter are called *nusa* (a Japanese term), or *inau-chipa;* and, according to the purpose for which they are designed, they consist of one or another number of figures, — now of husband and wife, now of a whole family, and again of master and assistants. A whole forest of such group inau is arranged in a semicircle on the arena on the occasion of a bear festival.

789 778 The appellation "inau" is not confined to the figured sticks, — poles and trees cut into shavings in a certain manner, — but is applied as well to the very shavings (though, without the stem, they represent no figure), and even to articles made of shavings, provided they bear upon the cult. Thus, the shavings with which the Ainu are wont to tie their heads at [301] solemn banquets bear the same name, which is also given to [796] ornaments woven of shavings put on the bear's head during the bear festival (Plate XXXV, Fig. 2), and to a whole line of all possible kinds of medicinal frontlets and fillets made of shavings (Figs. 4 and 5). Some of these last are made of common fabrics throughout, but are trimmed with cords twisted of finely cut shavings; and therefore they, too, are characterized as "inau." It is sufficiently manifest from this that *shavings are the most essential attribute of inau,* and it is particularly necessary that this should be borne in mind in order to clearly understand the meaning of this peculiar form of cult.

778 771 782 The inau play an enormous part in the Ainu's life. All his surroundings, all his environments, his whole field of activity, is filled with inau. Enter his house. On the fireplace is set up an *unti-inau,* inau to the "mistress" of the fire (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3); in the corner there is a fringed *tisse-kamui inau,* inau to the "master" of the house, the ancestor; to the fender of the

5:Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 [791] the Ainu, when making a medicinal effigy of a tiger-man, fasten on its breast an exact miniature reproduction of it, which is to serve as an amulet for the deity itself.

778 765 789 On the other hand, inau become the customary amulets for men also. They began to be applied first in cases of sickness. The diseased parts of the body, particularly the head, came to be bound with shavings. The stem, in such cases, as preventing their application, was cast away. This mode of healing created a whole pharmacology of bandages, frontlets, belts, in which the shavings appear in the shape of the most diverse plaitings (cords, circlets, etc.) in conjunction with various other amulets, like glass beads, wooden images of various organs of the body, etc. (see Plate XXXIV, Fig. 5; Plate XXXV, Figs. 3 and 5). To strengthen their effect, the shaving-plaitings receive, moreover, the form of various magic figures, as circles [537] (symbol of the sun), and similar magic symbols. Another step, and the medicinal bandages, with their artful plaitings of [291] [301] shavings, entered the every-day sphere of dress and ornaments.

796 825 291 301 789 It is instructive to trace this development in the ceremonial of attiring the bear at the festival. Primarily they adorned the slain bear with shavings alone as the necessary amulets for the slain animal, just as the Gilyak, in such cases, attach to the bear an image of a toad, their mightiest amulet. The heads of killed seals, even nowadays, before being cast into the sea, are tied over with mere shavings. But at present the modest shavings on the bear's head have turned into a whole complex of head-gear, frontlets, ear-caps, ear-rings, etc., daintily plaited of shavings (see Plate XXXV, Figs. 2, 6).

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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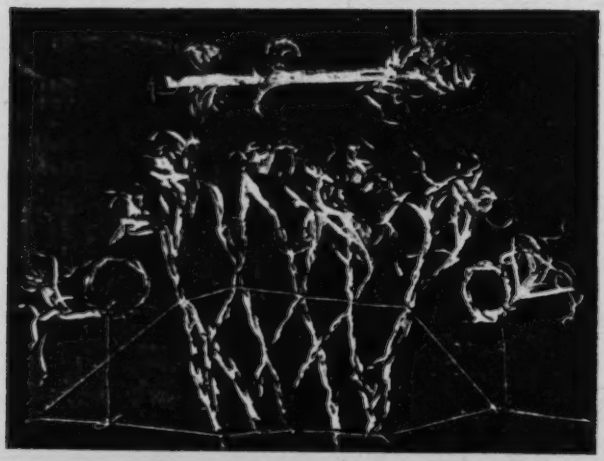

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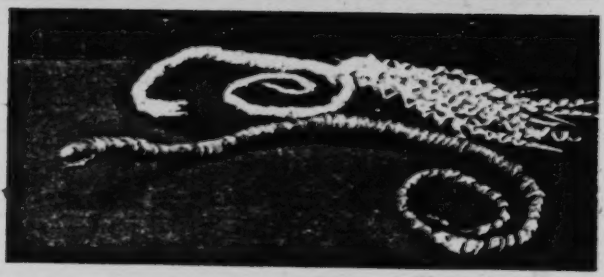

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Fig. 1. Coat and earrings for the young bear at its festival, and above, *ek-nume-in* to thrust behind the windpipe during skinning.
Fig. 2. Images (*inaka*) of snakes: that made of curled shavings used in exorism; the other, made of grass, used for protection against illness.
Fig. 3. Head of a turtle blackened with age, with fresh shavings attached as a protection against misfortune.

PLATE IV. CURLED SHAVINGS.

[p. 30, (1)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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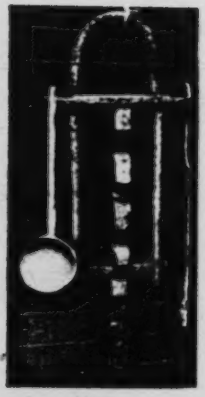

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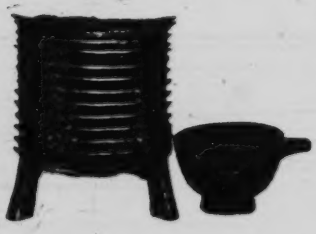

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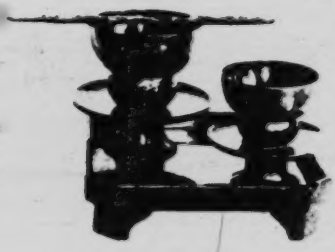

5.

6.

Fig. 1. Pot hook. Fig. 2. Household utensils. Fig. 3. Woman's necklace with pendant and earrings. Fig. 4. A *shintoko* and an old wooden vessel. Fig. 5. Tray with wine cups and a libation wand. Fig. 6. *Patchi*, bowl with lid.

PLATE XI. DOMESTIC OBJECTS.

[p. 30,(K)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value.

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection.

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition.

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head.

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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while straining it; lacquered feeding bowls (*itangi*); jugs of many kinds, with spouts (*etunup*); large lacquer bowls with lids, and sometimes with handles, called *patchi*; and wine cups or chalices (*tuki*) sometimes of fine old lacquer, usually with detachable stands. At festivals four of these should be placed on a tray with feet (*otchiki*), with a prayer-stick on the rim. The larger cup seen in Plate XI, fig. 5, was used for libations at the ritual salutation (*pase-ongami*) to the ancestral *kamui*. The small wooden vessel with a handle in Plate XI, fig. 4, was carved by an ancestor of my friend Mohekichi, and was valued in his family for several generations. All these objects are used in ritual. In the same figure is a *shintoko*.

Necklaces of beads (*rekutunbe*) are counted as women's treasure. They are of foreign manufacture, mostly Japanese, but some beads may be of Siberian origin. Many have pendants, probably serving as amulets. Indeed, the necklace itself is thought to have some protective influence, apart from its worth as ornament and mark of social standing. Simple ring earrings also are amulets, protecting the orifices of the ears, as tattooing the upper lip of women guards the mouth and nose against attacks of evil spirits.

On the wall behind the principal treasures are suspended swords (*emush*), quivers and sacred curled shavings. The present swords are nearly all foreign, and of soft iron, not to be compared with the tempered blades of the Japanese. For the last two or three centuries such weapons were forbidden to the Ainu, though they were allowed bows for hunting.

All are treasures in the sense that they are hoarded, but elderly Ainu distinguish between useful articles of value and what we might call fancy goods. The former are treasures (*iyoibe*), and the latter belongings (*ikoro*), of value only to the owner, but both classes have a suspicion of the supernatural about them.[1]

These sacred objects used to be hung on a cornice of tightly bound reeds on the north wall. The device was called either *chisei sembe* or *chisei noibe*, the heart or brains of the house. The cornice might be as much as twelve feet long, and sometimes went far enough over the corner to reach the sacred window. Most of the treasures are of Japanese make, though I possess two of rare Ainu

[1] The Ainu distinguished between men's and women's property—*machi-korpe* and *huchi-korpe*. The former passed usually from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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342 576 527 made to Chisei-koro Kamui in his sacred corner. The visitor then sits down on the floor in line with the other guests, at (2) as shown on the plan in text fig. 3, and salutes Kamui Fuchi most elaborately. He then makes a slighter salutation to the beer in the vessel and then to the householder. All the guests are watching, and as soon as the visitor salutes the householder they do the same.

342 527 The male relatives sit at (3) indicated on the plan, the female relatives and elderly women friends at (12), younger women with children at (13).

[554] When a sufficient number of guests has arrived, the service to the gods begins. First there is a curious ceremony of ladling the beer. The housewife goes to the head of the hearth, takes some of the beer in a ladle (*pishaku*) and pours it three times from left to right round the inner edge of the vessel (*shintoko*). Then, taking some of the beer from the bottom and some from the top, she fills a lacquered jug (*etunup*), and pours it back into the vessel, again going round the inner edge three times. The jug is then again filled partly from the bottom and partly from the top, and from the jug the beer is poured into the cups. This may be done because the beer tends to deposit lees, but I have been told that it is to insure against poisoning, e.g. with powdered aconite root. Ceremonial pouring into the cups is called *is-mare*.

342 527 782 During or after this proceeding the householder calls two trusty elders to perform the ritual salutation with libations and prayers to Chisei-koro Kamui in his corner and Nusa-koro Kamui outside. The elders are not called by name but as the father of so-and-so, naming an elder son if living, otherwise a daughter, or if childless as the husband of so-and-so. Visiting elders wear ceremonial dress and headband (*Sapa-um-be*).[1] When chosen to officiate, an elder is conducted to his place by a male relative of the householder, who takes the left hand of the elder in his right. It is noteworthy that

[411] whereas a ceremonial sword must be worn by the householder, and by an elder officiating at the sacred fence, it is not worn by the elder ministering to Chisei-koro Kamui. It is always worn when offering or praying to the ancestors in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never neglected when a modicum of the ancient

[301] [789] [1] *Sapa-um-be*, 'thing on the head', is a band or circlet made of several strands of twisted *inau* shavings sewn to a fillet of cloth, and usually having in front a carved effigy of a theriomorphic deity, bear or other. This band protects the elder against evil spirits. Women also are supposed to wear a kind of tiara (*chipanup*), but commonly have a black scarf tied round the head.—N.G.M.

[p. 78, (H)]

1.

2.

3.

4.

Fig. 1. Grave post for a man. Fig. 2. Grave post for a woman. Fig. 3. Headband and mittens for the corpse, and black and white cord to lace the mat in which it is wrapped. Headband is woven with three strands instead of four for the living. Fig. 4. Ghost trap.

PLATE XXIV. FUNERARY OBJECTS.

[301]
[291]
[531]

[784]
[775]
494

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142
301
354
291
115
531

Fig. 1. A woman whom Munro treated for stomach trouble and who gave him his first information about the *kut*.

142
291
301
115

Fig. 2. Wife of Tumashumi, an informant on the *kut* and an authority on dancing.

PLATE XXVII. AINU WOMEN.

[p 78, (K)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 291 [688] by most Ainu. At Nioi, a few miles from Nibutani, a man wore the clothes of a deceased person; he was the first victim of a terrible epidemic of smallpox, and this was believed to be due to his action.

Two tunics are put upon the corpse. The first is adjusted to the body, but with the right side folded over the left, the reverse of the customary style for both men and women. The second is laid over the body with the back lying over the chest. Although men usually sleep with the tunic laid over the chest, nobody would ever wear a tunic in this way, and if a child were to put on his tunic back to front he would be severely scolded. Some mourners return from a [531] funeral with their tunics inside out. A tunic for the dead ought to be a *kapara amip* with white embroidery,[1] as used on ceremonial occasions. Bright colours are prohibited.

● [301] Trinkets, except earrings actually in their ears, were not usually buried with the dead. A necklace of beads (*tamasai*) was put on and left till the body was about to be buried.

[482] Of three articles specially prepared for the dead the most significant is the *tara* or headband for supporting burdens on the back. The ordinary one has four cords joined to one, but this one has only three. Leggings and mittens (*hosh* and *tek-un-be*) are made [287] and kept for the dead. The former used to be made of bast fibres [177] from a lime tree or of deer-skin, and the latter of some kind of fur; [531] for many years both have been made of Japanese cloth, mostly cotton. All that I have seen are embroidered in black and white. Lastly there are two special cords. The first, *utoki-ai*, is plaited of [286] black and white strands of hemp. It is used to lace up the mat which was formerly always, and is still sometimes, used instead of a coffin to contain the body. The second, *para-muriri*, also of hemp (*hai pungara*, *Celastrus orpiculata*),[2] is also plaited, sometimes of black and white strands and sometimes of white only. This cord is tied to the mat-enclosed corpse and then to the carrying-pole (*chito-ma-ni*)[3] from which it is suspended on the way to the grave.

[184] [1] This applies to some districts such as Yakumo and Chikapumi. In others the same *kapara amip* was used for all ceremonies. Munro does not mention the sandals (*shiambappu-keri*) specially made for the dead (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[824] [2] These cords were usually made from *Urtica takeda* or *Laportea bulbifera* (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[3] This term means 'dreadful tree' and is another name for the grave-post. The carrying-pole is usually called *ot-ani-ni* (cf. Tosabayashi, *Japanese Journal*

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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organization due to modern conditions, but I wish to show that the Ainu as described by Munro have retained many of the religious beliefs and cults which had been associated with their old life as hunters and fishers. Munro did not synthesize the evidence he had observed for the ancestor cult; it was probable that the Ainu reticence on the subject prevented him from discussing the matter with the elders. However, I have been able to put together notes from his own observation which show not only the importance of ancestor worship but its foundation in territorial patrilineages.

In the esoteric form of worship to the *kamui*, they are addressed only by place-names—unfortunately, examples are not stated. It has been noted in Chapter VI that the spirit of an ancestor can only be approached by a direct descendant. At the new fire ceremony, preparatory to the occupation of a new house, if the householder is too young to pray to his ancestors and invite them to the new house, his father or his father's brother will perform this duty. If no direct descendant is available the prayer to the ancestors must be omitted.

Men who believe themselves to be descended from a common patrilineal ancestor have the same type of badge (*itokpa*) (see Chapters III and VII). This is not secret; it is worn on the headdress and is represented on certain other objects.[1] The badges are handed down from father to son, and if a boy is adopted he must be given the badge of his adoptive father. These badges represent, in highly stylised form, animal *kamui* who are believed to have rendered assistance to the ancestors. The same animal may be associated with several different *ekashi-ikir*, but there is no indication that there is any social or quasi-kinship bond between such groups.

Sapa-un-pe (literally thing on the head), a form of men's headgear, was indispensable for religious ceremonies, for special solicitations to good spirits and for protection against evil spirits. It was made of twisted shavings, strengthened by pieces of cloth and decorated with loops of brocade (see Pl. I, and Pl. XXXII, fig. 1).

[1] Mr Watanabe does not consider the badges worn on the headdress to be *itokpa*, but he does not state how they differ from them. He says that the Ainu recognize two kinds of *itokpa*: the *ekashi itokpa* to which Munro refers above, associated with patrilineal descent, and the *kamui itokpa*. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui itokpa* are specific to the *kamui* invoked, and are used only in the Kitami and Kushiro districts. However, it will be seen that the *kamui* to which he refers are indeed those associated with the ancestral cult.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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292 Badges were attached to the front of these headdresses, that of the
●301 bear being the most common. Others seen by Munro early in this century were those of the fox, eagle, falcon and grampus. Mr Watanabe states that at every Bear Ceremony new shavings were added to the headdress, each bunch contributing to the value of the whole. These headdresses were handed down from father to son.

778 For the celebration of the *pase ongami* of Metot-ush Kamui (one
782 name for the bear *kamui*) in the House-Warming Ceremony, the
422 winged libation wand with the ancestral mark of the householder is used. (See Chapter VII.) *Itokpa* are also cut on the winged libation wand used in connection with the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. Reference has been made in Chapter X to the *ekashi itokpa* cut on sticks carried by hunters, which served to identify their owners
184 should they become lost.

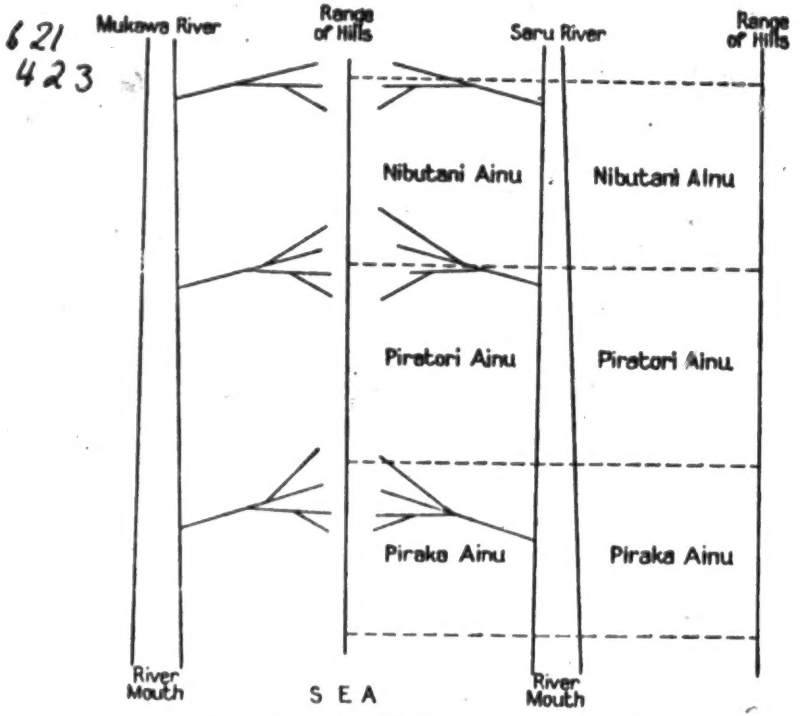
114 Munro worked in the Saru district as the Ainu there were less
778 influenced by the Japanese way of life than in the northern dis-
782 tricts. However, he considered that the northerners had retained some features of Ainu culture that were not present in the Saru
422 district, and therefore he invited Rennuikesh Ekashi, whom he
532 regarded as the most reliable elder in the north, to stay with him
[115] at Nibutani. Rennuikesh cut for him the signs used on certain *inau*
[769] stems, shown in Pl. V. These were not used in the south, and it would seem that Rennuikesh did not know, or did not emphasize, that they were connected with the ancestor cult. However, Pl. IX, fig. 8, shows an *inau* with an *itokpa* cut on its stem. It is dedicated to Iworo-koro Ekashi. This epithet, which refers to Kim-un Kamui, the Bear God, may be translated 'Hunting-rights Territory-owning Ancestor'. Munro states that the title also applied to the wolf. This *inau* was only made in the north. Rennuikesh stated that there was also a sign composed of two deep curved cuts which represented a winding valley between two mountain crests; several elders claimed this as a special sign for their own village. Munro says: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent.' I will return to this later.

614 It has been noted in Chapter VII that men having the same
301 badge worship together at the *pase ongami* and recognize mutual
796 obligations. (See also Chapter VII, footnote on p. 85.) Those who
[601] join in worship of Metot-ush Kamui address one another by kinship terms.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

769 Munro states that the 'disembodied ones' (*Anaishiri*) are the [778] dead in the ancestral line (*shinrit*). He suggested that all *shutu inau* [301] were representations of ancestors, and he considered them to be effigies.

[776] Most of the headband-badges have reference to the same animal spirits which are also associated with the women's *kut*.



TEXT FIGURE 8.—Fishing and Hunting Rights.

Note. Other *Kotans* are not indicated. The dotted lines are simply intended to represent the principle of assigning rights by mutual agreement. The watersheds form the boundaries.

776 To sum up:

769 Among the large number of *kamui* associated with the needs of all Ainu, and appealed to by all for their help, are some who receive 614 special worship from the men of certain patrilineages and are